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State Dept. review completed

BT
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PARM, US, UR
 SUBJECT: BRIEFING FOR ALLIED EMBASSIES ON VIENNA TALKS

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. AT CONCLUSION OF AUGUST 2 BRIEFING ON POLAND FOR ALLIED EMBASSY REPS (SEPTTEL), DAS DOBBINS OUTLINED STATUS OF U.S. EFFORTS TO ENGAGE THE SOVIETS IN DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES TO FACILITATE OPENING OF VIENNA TALKS. SOVIETS HAVE BEEN INSISTING ON CONDUCTING ALL DIPLOMACY IN PUBLIC,

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WHILE ADDING THEIR OWN MISREPRESENTATIONS OF U.S. POSITIONS, THUS OBLIGING US TO RESPOND IN PUBLIC AS WELL. U.S. IS WILLING TO WORK WITH SOVIETS ON JOINT STATEMENT FOR TALKS, OR TO OPEN TALKS WITHOUT A STATEMENT, BUT SOVIETS ARE INSISTING THAT STATEMENT PREJUDGE TALKS' OUTCOME -- A MUTUAL ASAT BAN AND A TESTING MORATORIUM. THE U.S. CANNOT AT THIS POINT BE VERY OPTIMISTIC TALKS WILL BEGIN IN SEPTEMBER. WE WILL CONTINUE CONTACTS THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, AND THUS LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT, SHOULD THE SOVIETS CHANGE THEIR POSITION, TALKS MIGHT BEGIN IN SEPTEMBER, OR AT A LATER DATE. END SUMMARY.

3. FOLLOWING BRIEFING OF EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES OF NATO

COUNTRIES, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, AND NEW ZEALAND BY EUR DAS PALMER ON POLISH SITUATION (SEPTEL), EUR DAS JAMES DOBBINS PROVIDED A STATUS REPORT ON SITUATION SURROUNDING POSSIBLE VIENNA TALKS ON SPACE ARMS CONTROL.

4. DOBBINS NOTED THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SERIES OF EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON THE CONTENT AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROPOSED MEETINGS. THE USG HAS ATTEMPTED TO CONFINE THESE EXCHANGES TO DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, BUT THE SOVIETS HAVE INSISTED ON PUBLICIZING EACH COMMUNICATION FROM EITHER SIDE. THE U.S. HAS FOUND IT NECESSARY, BECAUSE OF MOSCOW'S PERSISTENT PUBLIC MISCHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE U.S. POSITION, TO RESPOND PUBLICLY, MOST RECENTLY WITH THE AUGUST 1 STATEMENT BY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR MCFARLANE.

5. DOBBINS SAID THAT EACH SIDE HAD OFFERED THE OTHER A DRAFT TEXT OF A PROPOSED JOINT STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THE TALKS. AS WAS CLEAR FROM THE TWO SIDES' PUBLIC STATEMENTS, THERE WERE FOUR BASIC AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT:

(A) THE SOVIETS INSIST THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TALKS MUST BE "PREVENTING THE MILITARIZATION OF SPACE", WHILE THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT THE TALKS SHOULD AIM FOR AGREEMENTS CONCERNING THE "MILITARIZATION OF SPACE". ASIDE FROM THE DISINGENUOUSNESS OF THE SOVIET FORMULATION, SINCE FOR FIFTEEN YEARS THEY ALONE HAVE HAD AN OPERATIONAL ANTI-SATELLITE (ASAT) SYSTEM, THE BROADER POINT IS THAT BOTH

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SIDES EMPLOY SPACE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES WHICH ENHANCE STABILITY -- E.G., SATELLITES FOR EARLY WARNING, MONITORING ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE, COMMUNICATIONS, AND RECONNAISSANCE. COMPLETELY "DEMILITARIZING" SPACE IS THUS EITHER POSSIBLE NOR DESIRABLE.

(B) THE SOVIETS INSIST THAT THE JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT STATE EXPLICITLY THAT THIS OBJECTIVE MUST INCLUDE COMPLETE MUTUAL RENUNCIATION OF ASATS. WHILE THE U.S. DOES NOT FORECLOSE ANY POSSIBLE OUTCOME, AND IS WILLING FOR A JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT TO SINGLE OUT ASAT LIMITS AS A SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION, IT CANNOT ALLOW THE JOINT STATEMENT TO PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME.

(C) THE SOVIETS INSIST THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT INCLUDE A MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO A MORATORIUM ON TESTING OF SPACE WEAPONS DURING THE TALKS. THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE IN A JOINT STATEMENT THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD CONSIDER IN THE VIENNA TALKS WHAT MUTUAL RESTRAINTS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE U.S. DOES NOT PRECLUDE ANY OUTCOME, BUT IS NOT PREPARED TO LET THE STATEMENT PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME.

(D) THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT BOTH SIDES MUST HAVE THE FREEDOM TO RAISE ISSUES THEY CONSIDER RELEVANT TO THE "MILITARIZATION OF SPACE" -- AS WE HAVE PUBLICLY INDICATED THAT WE BELIEVE OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS TO BE. THE U.S. IS NOT, HOWEVER, INSISTING THAT LANGUAGE ON OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS BE INCLUDED IN A JOINT STATEMENT.

6. DOBBINS SAID THAT IN THE ORIGINAL JUNE 29 SOVIET PROPOSAL, THE SOVIETS MADE CLEAR THAT THEY PROPOSED A BAN ON SPACE WEAPONS (INCLUDING ASATS) AS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TALKS, BUT IT WAS NOT PRESENTED AS A PRECONDITION FOR THE MEETING, NOR WAS A TESTING MORATORIUM. THE SOVIETS HAVE SINCE MADE BOTH THE BAN AND THE MORATORIUM PRECONDITIONS. HE NOTED THAT, OTHER THAN THESE UNREASONABLE AND UNPRECEDENTED PRECONDITIONS, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOVIET FORMULATIONS WERE BRIDGEABLE. WITH THEIR PRECONDITIONS, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS ARE INSISTING THAT THE U.S. MUST ACCEPT THEIR PROPOSAL VERBATIM.

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7. DOBBINS INDICATED THAT THE USG CANNOT BE VERY OPTIMISTIC THAT TALKS WILL BEGIN IN VIENNA IN SEPTEMBER, BUT THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS IS NOT OVER. THE U.S. DOES NOT REQUIRE A JOINT STATEMENT FOR TALKS TO START, BUT IS WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE THE SOVIETS, WHO SUGGESTED IT. HE RECALLED THAT IN EARLIER NEGOTIATIONS -- SUCH AS SALT, START, MBFR, AND INF -- THERE WERE SIMILAR PROBLEMS WITH AGREED LANGUAGE FOR JOINT STATEMENTS. THUS, FOR THE SOVIETS TO REFUSE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE OF DISAGREEMENT OVER SUCH A STATEMENT -- ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE SWEEPING NATURE OF THEIR FORMULATIONS -- WAS BOTH UNREASONABLE AND UNPRECEDENTED.

8. NOTING THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE SOMETIMES TAKEN TOUGH, UNYIELDING POSITIONS, ONLY TO CHANGE THEM AT THE LAST MINUTE, DOBBINS DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR BECOMING REASONABLE ON THIS ISSUE, EITHER ACCEPTING COMPROMISE LANGUAGE OR DROPPING THEIR INSISTENCE ON A JOINT STATEMENT. WE WILL CONTINUE CONTACTS IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, AND THUS LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT, SHOULD THE SOVIETS CHANGE THEIR POSITION, TALKS MIGHT BEGIN IN SEPTEMBER, OR AT A LATER DATE.

9. PALMER NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE INVENTING A NEW KIND OF ARMS CONTROL. AS WITH THEIR STAND ON VIENNA, THEIR PRECONDITION FOR RESUMING NEGOTIATIONS ON INF -- THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. LRINF MISSILES FROM EUROPE -- IS IN EFFECT CALLING FOR THE OUTCOME TO PRECEDE THE TALKS.

10. THE FRG REP ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR ALL CONCERNED IF THE VIENNA TALKS WERE POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER THE U.S. ELECTIONS. DOBBINS REPLIED THAT SEPTEMBER IS THE SOVIETS' OWN DATE, THAT IT IS FINE WITH THE U.S., BUT THAT WE HAVE TOLD THEM THAT IF THEY PREFER ANOTHER DATE THAT WOULD BE FINE TOO. THE U.S. HAS NO DEADLINE FOR TALKS TO BEGIN. DAM

END OF MESSAGE

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